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ABSTRACT

This study identifies home environment factors that may contribute to children's academic achievement. The study involved observing and interviewing 59 families of a group of higher achieving and lower achieving fifth and sixth grade students of Puerto Rican descent residing in southeastern urban Pennsylvania. The following factors that may affect a child's achievement are discussed: (1) the child's degree of language proficiency as well as the everyday functional distribution of language; (2) the parents' educational aspirations for their child and the comparison of this measure to the child's chosen vocation; and (3) the levels of parental controlling strategies. Mini-case studies are presented to illustrate the differing family life situations. The results indicate that in the higher achievers' homes both Spanish and English are spoken, the parents always know the whereabouts of their child, and they have higher expectations for their child's educational achievement. In the homes of lower achievers Spanish is the preferred language, the parents had lower expectations of educational achievement, and they were either more permissive or extremely restrictive with their children. Structural variables such as socioeconomic status were less important than environmental factors in predicting academic achievement. Twenty-three references are included, along with three tables. (JS)

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FAMILIES AS LEARNING ENVIRONMENTS: REFLECTIONS ON CRITICAL FACTORS AFFECTING DIFFERENTIAL ACHIEVEMENT

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this investigation was to identify home environment factors that may contribute to children's academic achievement. Previous research viewing ethnically diverse learner's home environment and its relationship to academic achievement is related, as are mini-case studies from observations to mainland Puerto Rican homes. The recurrent themes and successful aspects of the families are shared in the hopes of alleviating stereotypes and encouraging additional qualitative approaches.

Families are instrumental in contributing toward the ongoing educational needs of their offsprings. Families can serve as educators for their children by providing activities and facilitating learning at home. The home learning environment or process variables present in the home can help to enhance children's school achievement. Researchers (Coleman, 1966; Dave, 1963; Laosa, 1979; Marjoribanks, 1987; Soto, 1986; Wolf, 1964) have noted the substantial contribution of the home environment to school achievement. Walberg (1984) proposed that the "curriculum of the home" predicts academic learning twice as well as socioeconomic status. Bloom (1964) proposed that much of what a child learns is acquired prior to entering school. Since families are important contributors to children's school achievement it makes sense to view the positive, facilitative aspects present at home which help children to fare well at school.

Ethnic Home Environment and Achievement

The interest in examining the extent to which the learning environment is related to ethnic group differences in children's achievement has led to both interesting and controversial conclusions. A trend is seen in these studies from a quantitative to a more qualitative approach, as well as viewing within group differences. Marjoribanks (1979) states that general conclusions may be drawn from this body of research: (1) differences in achievement between ethnic groups may be accounted for by factors which may be dependent on each other and may interact (e.g., test biases, differences in environmental conditions), and that (2) differences among individuals within racial-ethnic groups far outweigh the between group differences.

In a review of ethnicity, family environment and children's achievement, Marjoribanks (1979) notes that language is an important variable which needs to be considered in this type of research. Laosa's research has also emphasized the importance of language on children's achievement. Laosa (1984) concludes that an

unspecified combination of influences associated with SES and home language exert a powerful influence on the ability measures of young children.

Additional research by Laosa has focused on maternal teaching strategies, parental schooling, family interactions, and children's scholastic performance (1979, 1982, 1984). Since the educational level of the parents was found to be one of the most powerful predictors of cognitive measures (Laosa 1982), Laosa suggests that educational equity may alleviate differences in children's achievement. In addition, Laosa comments that the home and the school environment place specific demands on a child and that success depends on the degree of overlap between these environments. The learner must be able to "negotiate" between these environments, since there is often a marked discrepancy between the skills and concepts learned by some children from minority subcultures and those valued by the school.

The Lesser, Fifer, and Clark (1965) study is frequently cited in the literature. Three hundred and twenty first graders from four ethnic groups (Chinese, Jewish, Black, and Puerto Rican) were tested on verbal ability, number facility, space conceptualization, and reasoning ability. Each ethnic group was divided into middle and lower SES groups as well as by gender. The children were tested by examiners from the same ethnic group. The results of the study indicated that each ethnic group exhibited its own distinctive pattern of mental ability scores, regardless of SES. It was found that the pattern of abilities for middle SES children within each ethnic group was parallel to the pattern of abilities for lower SES children. Lesser (1976) concluded that a common cultural background will lead to a certain extent, to common patterns of intellectual abilities, thinking styles, and interests. Gordon (1976) commented on the Lesser type of research and stated that these studies "fail to consider the compensatory role of motivation" (p. 171).

Forty-two mother-son dyads were observed in a study by Steward and Steward (1973). Seven ethnic groups were videotaped during maternal teaching sessions.

This study indicated that ethnicity was the single best predictor of maternal teaching strategy. The mothers were asked to teach a sorting card game and a bean bag toss game. The middle class Anglo mothers were reported to exhibit a "proactive teaching style," the Chinese-American mothers used specificity of instructions and provided enthusiastic feedback. Impressions of the teachers concerning the mothers' approaches to their child's schooling indicated ethnic differences, for instance, Chinese-American mothers left instructions with the Kindergarten teacher to be called if her child did not learn, while the Mexican-American mothers asked to be called if her child did not behave.

Anderson and Evans (1976) examined the family socialization practices among Mexican-Americans and Anglo-Americans and their effects on educational achievement. The findings from this study highlight the importance of parental independence training since the latter resulted in significant gains in achievement for both groups of students.

Reginald Clark (1983) relating ten case studies of family interactions among urban Black Americans, compared the child development strategies used by parents of five high achieving children and five low achieving children. The quality of life present in the home, regardless of social status, was found to be the determining factor in a family's educational competence. Clark compared the patterns present in the homes of the high achievers and low achievers. In the home of the high achiever, for example, the parent initiated school contact frequently, was calm with the child, expected to play a major role in the child's schooling, expected the child to play a major role in their schooling, had explicit achievement rules and norms, established clear, specific role boundaries and authority, engaged in deliberate achievement-training activities, provided nurturance and support. In the home of the low achiever there were infrequent school contacts, psychological and emotional upheavals, lower expectations , less explicit achievement rules and norms, seldom

any deliberate achievement-training activities, the parent's role was not well defined, and the parents were inconsistent and less liberal with nurturance and support.

Marjoribank's (1979) research has underlined the unique contribution of ethnic diversity as a cultural determinant.

> "In societies, ethnic group membership is one of the most significant sociological influences on children's school-related behavior..." (Marjoribanks, 1979; 27)

The within racial-ethnic group differences among individuals far exceed the average differences between groups, according to Marjoribanks.

A research model viewing within group and individual differences among families with similar socioeconomic characteristics, and residing in the same community, may help to uncover the unique contributions of the home learning environment and its accompanying relationship to school achievement. Viewing differences within one ethnic group has additional advantages of affording insights into positive and enhancing features among families. While it is true that cross-ethnic comparisons are needed and valuable, they also require careful analyses and explanations in order to avoid stereotypical notions and deficit philosophies. The present study emphasizes both within group differences, as well as individual differences among families as they help to contribute to the education of their children.

Soto (1988) conducted a study which compared the home learning environment of higher achieving and lower achieving mainland Puerto Rican fifth and sixth graders. Statistically significant differences were found favoring higher achieving home learning environments on six out of eight subscales. The subscales which were found to be significant include: parental aspirations for their child, parental aspirations for themselves, concern for the use of language, parental reinforcement of aspirations, knowledge of the child's educational progress, and family

involvement. A post hoc analysis (Soto, 1986) revealed that the variable entitled family involvement, which measured the enriching activities parents and children shared, contributes 41% of the variance when predicting achievement. Soto (1986, 1988) recommends detailed observational home environment research, as well as an emphasis on successful higher achieving ethnically diverse learners.

The major goal of this investigation was to identify home environment factors that may contribute to children's academic achievement. The successful higher achieving child's home environment is of particular interest, as are the redeeming features of the lower achiever's home. An elaboration of key examples which illustrate the findings will be shared resulting from visits to the homes of Puerto Rican mainland families.

The Study

Fifty nine families were visited and interviewed during a four month period. The actual observational time with the families was clocked at 384 hours with a mean average of six hours per family.

The participants were the families (N=59) of a group of higher achieving (n=28) and lower achieving (n=29) fifth and sixth grade students of Puerto Rican descent residing in southeastern urban Pennsylvania. The Puerto Rican families living in the community comprise 23 percent of the school population, are primarily Spanish speaking with some English fluency and are of lower socio-economic status (according to the Hollingshead Four Factor Index, 1976).

Higher achieving and lower achieving students were chosen from a pool of 249 students by their most recent standardized test score (Iowa Test of Basic Skills). The high-low split was based upon a score distribution of only the Puerto Rican children.

Analysis of variance was used to analyze the initial sample (N=249) when categorized by achievement, grade and gender. An F ratio (400.68) indicated a

statistically significant difference among higher, middle, and lower achievement thirds. There were no statistically significant gender or grade level differences. The Tukey WSD Test was used as a follow-up multiple comparison procedure which indicated significant differences between the three paired comparisons. This method was used to ascertain that the children did belong to differing achievement groups. Thirty higher achieving and and 30 lower achieving children were chosen at random. One family could not be located so that the total number of families visited is 59.

Letters introducing the study to the parents were followed by telephone calls and personal visits. Observations and semi structured interviews were obtained of the ongoing family activities, the educational process variables, family interactions, and the physical environment. Rapport was established with the families and interviews were conducted in the families' preferred language.

The local school district administers the Laboratory assessment Battery (LAB) and interviews, for placement purposes. Children scoring under the tenth percentile are placed in bilingual classrooms, while children scoring between the tenth and twentieth percentile receive English as a Second Language instruction. Children scoring above the twentieth percentile are placed in the mainstreamed classrooms. The children who participated in this investigation were all participating in mainstreamed English speaking classrooms. Their facility with conversational English was evident.

The Community

The families that were interviewed for this study lived within the city limits. I oriented myself to the community by driving, walking, and talking to some of its residents. I was struck by the discrepancy between the inner city limits and the suburban areas with spacious golf courses and scenic routes. Most of the families (except for one) lived within the more crowded, segregated areas in either

apartments or townhouses. The neighbors were either fellow Hispanics or of Afro-American descent. The one family who lived in the spacious, scenic suburban area had just recently purchased a new townhome and was in the process of completing their move.

There was evidence of an active youth center, as well as an active Hispanic community church. There were sports and recreational facilities such as parks, a swimming pool, and a variety of museums. An open fresh fruit and vegetable market as well as a few small "bodegas" were noted. The prices in the nearby smaller supermarket were evidently higher than at the larger suburban supermarket. Only a handful of the families interviewed owned an automobile.

The major industries (for these families) included a chicken "factory", and a linoleum company. These families were not employed within the higher technological industry in the area.

There is a historical section in the community which is currently being renovated and a source of pride for its residents. There is a shelter for battered women, a prison, and a shelter for homeless residents nearby. The hospital serves both the inner city residents and the suburbanites. The schools these children attend are within the city limits and range from one fairly modern spacious facility to two older buildings.

The Families

Demographic and economic characteristics of the families of the higher achieving and lower achieving children is presented in Table 1.

Insert Table 1 about here

Table 1 indicates that 34 families were intact while 25 were single families. These families have resided an average of 19 years (higher achievers) or 16 years

(lower achievers) in the mainland. Families of the higher achievers had an average of 3.45 children, while families of the lower achievers had an average of 4.17 children. The highest educational attainment by these families is a High School Grade Equivalent Diploma (GED) with vocational training, while the lowest educational attainment was second grade. The demographic characteristics appear to be quite similar for these families. The differences appear to be that families of the higher achievers have been residing on the mainland slightly longer, while the families of the lower achievers appear to have one more child per family. It may be that additional length of residency may act as a facilitator for families while an additional child provides increased responsibilities.

The similarities among all of the families included a comparable lower socio-economic status (as measured by the Hollingshead Four Factor Index, 1976). Within the lower socio-economic status, however, some of the families appeared to be in transitional stages e.g., one family was moving to the suburbs, several families were attempting to purchase townhouses (as opposed to renting).

Recurrent Themes

The degree of language proficiency (S/E) as well as the everyday functional distribution of language was obtained. Table 2 presents information related to the language spoken at home (functional distribution).

Insert Table 2 about here

Table 2 shows that in the homes of the higher achievers both Spanish and English are spoken; Spanish, English, or both languages were used when conversing with the child; while the children are likely to respond in English when speaking with their families or friends. In the homes of the lower achievers Spanish is the preferred language spoken at home; Spanish is used more frequently with the

children; and the children are more likely to respond in English when speaking with their families or friends. In the home of the higher achievers language became part of the enrichment provided for the child. Communication among the languages took place easily and in a relaxed manner. Neither the higher achieving child nor the lower achieving child was using the native language with family or friends. The letter raises the question of loss of native language by this particular generational cohort.

It can be noted, however, that an additive bilingual philosophy was prevalent in the homes of the higher achieving students. The degree of language proficiency (S/E) by the parents was noted during the home interviews. A composite rating was obtained regarding fluency of expression, pronunciation and vocabulary. It was evident that the quality and quantity of Spanish far surpassed English usage, with most parents choosing to communicate in Spanish only. It became evident that the issue of home language is not simple and that further explorations and observations may uncover the role language plays in the daily lives of these families.

All of the families expressed educational aspirations for their children, although discrepancies were noted between the child's chosen vocation and the parents' educational hopes. Table 3 presents a rating of the educational expectations of the parents and consisted of a subscale entitled parental aspirations for their child averaged as an index ranging from one to six (1-6), and the vocational aspirations of the child. A score of one indicates low expectations while a score of six indicates the highest possible score.

Insert Table 3 about here

Table 3 indicates that the parents of the higher achievers obtained a lightly higher rating in terms of aspirations for their child ($x = 4.14$), than the parents of

the lower achievers ($x = 3.36$). The higher achieving children appear to be more specific in terms of their chosen vocations, while the lower achieving children have general choices or appeared uncertain about their choices. It may be that the successful higher achiever has at such an early age made preliminary vocational decisions. The following key examples relate the child's home and their vocational choices:

Gloria was an outgoing, bright, articulate, and self-confident child. She aspired to become a pediatrician. She was very active in extracurricular activities and shared the newspaper clippings to prove it. Both mother and grandmother expressed pleasure at the child's comments and humor. We (mother, child, grandmother, and investigator) sat together on rocking chairs on the porch and were able to chat very casually. The pride that the family felt as a result of their child's success in school was very evident. Grandmother to neighbor: "You know how well Gloria is doing in school, maybe we can help other children". The family shared their Baptist religious affiliation and the fact that Gloria had such a successful Head Start experience.

Dania's family lived in an apartment that was slightly removed from the center of the city. The pool area, parks, and trees gave a peaceful and spacious feeling. The mother was a New Yorker of Puerto Rican descent, extremely friendly, and religious. She feels that Puerto Rican children "need to be doing better in school." The child was extremely asthmatic and the mother related the fact that the child has been doing quite well in school in spite of her illness. The mother would like to see her child find happiness in her chosen vocation since she herself has been very unhappy working as a custodian. Dania expressed a desire to become a fashion model and proceeded to demonstrate some of her talent.

In Wanda's family, the mother was completing a high school equivalency exam in order to "better her situation." The parent expressed high educational

expectations for her children. Each one of the children expressed specific and detailed vocational choices e.g., physical educational teacher, a helicopter pilot, and a hotel chef. A humorous discussion ensued about how each child had made such a decision. It seemed evident that adult guidance attempting to match talents with available vocations had taken place.

Robert's mother appeared to be overwhelmed. She spoke in a very low whisper and looked extremely tired. This single parent works as a cook at a nearby nursing home and expressed her feelings of helplessness and hopelessness. She related the fact that she would like to improve herself by taking a course but that the cost was out of her reach ($75). If she could only somehow afford to further her education, she was assured that it would improve her salary. She also shared the fact that she has to leave Robert alone for long periods of time due to her extensive working hours. The family lives in an area where neighborhood adolescents congregate late at night. The police find it necessary to patrol the area in order to maintain safety. This mother felt that her child needed more individualized attention in school in order to succeed. There was a discrepancy between the low rating (2) of parental educational expectations and the child's wish to become an engineer.

Jesus' parents own a "bodega" corner store. The mother related some of her experiences with a previous school district. She explained how one of Jesus' siblings was successfully 'forced' away from her by the school authorities due to a 'battered-child claim.' The sibling was therefore cared for by an aunt and was visiting for the summer. The mother pointed out the child's scars (on his nose, forehead, back of the head, legs, etc...). The parents would like Jesus to be a store clerk when he grows up, while the child would like to become a pilot. There seemed to be a great deal of tension in this home exemplified by quarrels, yelling and short specific commands.

Victor's mother had just returned with a kidney transplant. She appeared very, very depressed. The environment in this home was gloomy, gray, and bare. The

child could not wait to go outdoors. He was placed in the public schools in March of this year due to the many expenses the family has had to incur. The educational expectations (4) the mother had for her child were moderate compared with the child's expressed goal of becoming a veterinarian.

The parent of the higher achieving child exhibits higher educational expectations. The higher achieving child is clear and specific as to their chosen vocation even at this early age. In Wanda's family it became apparent that the mother had attempted to match the children's talents with existing vocations. The last three children portrayed were lower achievers (Victor, Jesus, and Robert) yet they too expressed high (although not as specific or as determined) educational expectations. Their parents, however, indicated lower expectations for their children. The direction of effects may be questioned - Is the parent affecting the child or vice-versa. What lasting impact will parental expectations have on these children's future? How much determination on the child's part is needed to reach their chosen vocation?

Several children were successful higher achievers in spite of apparently difficult family situations for example:

There were six brothers and sisters in Rafael's home. The mother was interrupted frequently by the telephone and the neighbors. There was a great deal of activity in the household as children and adults stopped by to visit briefly or to ask questions about the whereabouts of one child or another. The father had arrived from the hospital this morning after a leg amputation. The mother insisted the investigator remain for the interview while the father yelled that he would be right down. The study appeared somewhat irrelevant at this point to me due to what I perceived to be a rather delicate and traumatic situation. The father hobbled down the stairs valiantly and stated that he would like to be interviewed because of his strong feelings about the education of Puerto Rican children. He emphasized in his

comments the need for the Puerto Rican children in this particular community to succeed in school. I was impressed by the warmth and cohesiveness present in this family. The father's aspirations for his children were quite high.

The father in Ivan's family "walked out" leaving 13 children. The mother has been able to, not only manage her own children, but earns money by babysitting for her neighbors. The mother appeared to supervise the children by age levels, e.g., younger children were playing in one area, several children were taking part in quiet activities in another room, and the "noisy ones" were in the playroom downstairs. The family was very cohesive, loving and polite towards one another. The teachers in the school have been helpful to this family by taking children on outings and involving them in neighborhood activities and clubs.

Jose's mother left messages for me at various locations since she was living at a "Shelter" for abused homemakers. When I finally met this family I found it to be a most emotional experience. The mother was mutilated by her mate with an electric screwdriver. They were living in a building (not the "shelter") whose electrical wiring was completely exposed, boards were missing from the floors, windows and doors were missing, and the general condition made it unfit for inhabitance by any form of human life. The mother related her wishes to be interviewed since her child was the highest achiever in his entire grade level (I later verified this fact). She expressed how proud she was of her son and his positive school experiences. "He is our only hope...you know..."

Jose, Ivan, and Rafael are examples of children who appear to succeed regardless of the hardships or difficulties present at home. The research being conducted at the University of Minnesota, entitled Project Competence (Master, 1989), may help to shed light on children's resilience. It is evident that Jose and Rafael have been able to succeed at school because of additional inner and outer

resources. These parents were proud of their children's success and were supportive of their efforts.

What constitutes optimal levels of controlling strategies in the home? Diana Baumrind's (1975) research has indicated a variety of family types. There were differing controlling strategies in the present investigation these families ranging from extremely controlling to laissez-faire (unsupervised). It seemed clear that the parents of the higher achieving children in this study were always aware of their child's whereabouts. The parents of the lower achieving children were not always sure where their child was or controlled the child's activity in a restrictive manner. Examples can be noted by comparing the following homes:

When the interviewer arrived Wanda's mother and her daughters were playing a table game together. The mother was also baking bread and cakes sold to the neighbors. This particular day she was gathering the ingredients for a wedding cake to be delivered on the following day. This female headed household appeared to spend a great deal of time together. There were a variety of table games such as Parchesi, Monopoly, and Chinese Checkers. Books and magazines were displayed neatly on low bookcases and on a coffee table. The parent and children communicated freely and laughed easily. Conversation and laughter were the order of the day. Plans for upcoming activities were being made by the family and most requests were being granted, e.g., Wanda could attend the local movie house if certain criteria were met.

Nayda's mother and father worked in the same local factory. The child appeared to be unsupervised at this time. She sat on the porch with a radio and rocked back and forth. The outdoors were noisy due to heavy traffic. Nayda expressed her desire to visit with her "cousins" but that she was expected to "watch the house" whenever her parents were at work. When her parents arrived she asked

for permission to visit her cousins but was told that she had too many chores to complete. Nayda's face could not hide her obvious disappointment.

The building where Antonio lived was extremely run down but the apartment itself was extremely clean, colorful, and cheery. The mother asked one of the neighborhood children to find her child. There was a great deal of preparation in the household for a birthday party. I asked the mother about an appropriate time for the interview and she insisted that the party could wait. This mother superdominated the children and the activities to be included in the festivities. The children were seated about the living room and appeared quite serious about this intrusion. Neighbors came by and curiously peeked at the investigator. I was glad when the interview was over so that the child's birthday party could begin.

A feeling of organization permeated many homes such as Daniel's. This family lived in a modest but very well kept house with a well kept garden boasting colorful flowers. The mother was quite verbal, completely bilingual, humorous, and willing to be most cooperative. This working mother appeared to be very well organized as exemplified by the fact that dinner had been cooked the night before, and in a matter of minutes was able to know the whereabouts of each one of the family members. The older sibling was at a school game, while Daniel was about to study with a peer.

Manuel's father in this family was very much in control. The father answered most of the questions but asked the mother for input verbally or via eye contact. The mother would nod her approval or shake her head and the father would proceed accordingly. The whole family was awaiting the interviewer and it was obvious that some preparations had taken place. The children acted as hosts with refreshments and snacks and were excused but only after all the "necessary details" had been taken care of. Each child outlined where he was going, what was going to take place, and the time of their arrival.

These observations are in keeping with Baumrind's (1975) research indicating a variety of family types. It is evident that there are optimal levels of controlling strategies e.g., some families who acted as facilitators for children and structured their activities. Wanda, Daniel, and Manuel's family exhibited facilitative yet structured behaviors (all three were higher achievers). Nayda and Antonio were both lower achievers and their families reflect controlling, superdominating behaviors. There appeared to be little flexibility in the latter homes.

Concluding Remarks

Based upon the observations and interviews conducted in this investigation it can be concluded that there are both home environment factors and child factors contributing to children's successful academic achievement. The home that provides an additive bilingual philosophy where two languages are spoken easily and freely was more prevalent in the home of the successful higher achiever. The successful higher achiever indicated clear, specific vocational choices supported by higher educational parental expectations. Several children were successful higher achievers in spite of apparently difficult family situations. These children exhibited resilience, inner determination along with supportive parents. Optimal levels of controlling parental strategies were noted in the homes of the successful higher achievers. The parents acted as facilitators within an organized framework of expectations. The latter families were flexible yet the clarity of anticipated child behaviors was evident. The superdominating/restrictive controlling strategies were more prevalent in the lower achieving child's home where instructions were short and basic commands.

The structural variables such as socio-economic variables appear to be less important on the surface. It should be noted, however, that some families may be in stages of transition possibly moving within the lower SES strata. Several families evidenced moves which appeared hopeful with regard to their surrounding

environments. The latter were affording larger spaces, additional facilities, and ownership for their families.

Less obvious structural differences which may be affecting the home learning environment includes the number of years residing on the mainland and the total number of children. The home of the higher achieving child had resided only slightly longer on the mainland while an additional child in the home of the lower achiever may be causing additional responsibility and needed resources for the family.

Future research should continue to explore qualitative approaches in order to uncover additional factors affecting differential achievement. The role of language as a structural and functional communicative tool in the home will be important to pursue. Emphasizing the successful aspects of the culturally diverse children's home learning environment may begin to alleviate stereotypical notions and current deficit and mythical philosophies. The deprived child syndrome needs to be replaced by the positive redeeming educational contributions and aspects provided by families on behalf of their children. The intent of this study was not to conduct ethnography but rather to learn about ethnically diverse (Puerto Rican) families as learning environments for their children. The individual and within family differences indicate a need to continue to pursue the role families play in the academic achievement of their children as well as the unique inner strength children possess regardless of their everyday situation.

Notes

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TABLE I

Demographic and Economic Characteristics

Code No./Gender/ Achievement	Single/ Intact	Educational Level	Occupation	Yrs. Lvg. in Mainland	No. of Children
001 / F / (H)	S	7th grade GED vocational trng. data processing	housewife	22	3
002 / M / (H)	I	8th/8th	pressing/ disabled	27	6
003 / M / (L)	S	high school	housewife	13	4
004 / M / (H)	I	11th & GED/	gen. laborer factory/social case worker	33	4
005 / M / (H)	I	11th / 9th	none/mechanic	25	4
006 / M / (H)	I	6th / 6th	housewife/ oven operator	7-8	3
007 / F / (H)	I	12th/11th	social worker aide/factory worker	17	2
008 / M / (H)	I	9th/10th	housewife/ hotel chef	20	4
009 / M / (L)	I	9th/9th	babysitter/ welder	25	4
010 / M / (L)	I	8th/8th	store clerk/ store owner	19	5
011 / F / (L)	I	8th/4th	housewife/ retired custodian	38	11
012 / F / (H)	S	high school	housewife	28	4
013 / M / (L)	I	11th/6-7th	housewife/ foundary	16	3
014 / M / (H)	I	9th/9th	Soc. Sec./ Soc. Sec. disabled	25	5
015 / M / (H)	S	3rd	housewife - babysits	14	13
016 / F / (H)	I	11th/11th	custodian/ factory	25	2

TABLE I - continued

Demographic and Economic Characteristics

Code No./Gender/ Achievement	Single/ Intact	Educational Level	Occupation	Yrs. Lvg. in Mainland	No. of Children
017 / M / (H)	I	9th/9th	housewife lunch lady/ machine operator	24	2
018 / M / (H)	I	2nd/2nd	housewife/ labor Armstrong	17	6
019 / F / (L)	I	high school/ 9th GED	housewife/ laborer Armstrong	13	2
020 / M / (L)	S	10th	cook at nursing home	20	2
021 / F / (H)	S	8th	housewife	19	3
022 / F / (L)	I	9th/10th	weaver labor/ labor	13	3
023 / M / (L)	S	7th/2nd	housewife/ deceased	13	5
024 / F / (H)	S	12th	housewife	11	3
025 / F / (L)	I	1st/5-8th	housewife/ unemployed	14	8
026 / M / (H)	I	6th/9th	cook Center Hisp./labor	26	2
027 / F / (L)	I	6th/1st	housewife/ disabled	5	4
028 / F / (L)	S	6th	financial interviewer		3
029 / F / (L)	S	8th	nurse's aide	11	4
030 / F / (L)	I	10th/9th	babysitter/ foreman	30	3
031 / M / (L)	I	8th/4th	housewife/ unemployed	20	4
032 / F / (H)	I	11th/10th	housewife/ unemployed	16	1

TABLE I - continued

Demographic and Economic Characteristics

Code No./Gender/ Achievement	Single/ Intact	Educational Level	Occupation	Yrs. Lvg. in Mainland	No. of Children
033 / F / (L)	I	10th/7th	babysitter/ carpenter	16	4
034 / M / (L)	S	GED	housewife	16	2
035 / F / (H)	I	high school/ 10th	school monitor/ tile production	23	2
036 / M / (H)	I	10th/8th	housewife/ grocery store owner	16	3
037 / M / (L)	I	9th/3rd	housewife/ machine operator	13	3
038 / M / (H)	S	8th	housewife	12	2
039 / M / (L)	S	11th	housewife	15	4
040 / M / (H)	I	9th/5th	housewife/ factory	23	3
041 / F / (L)	S	10th	unemployed	17	4
042 / F / (L)	I	9th/9th	Weaver Chicken/ construction	12	4
043 / M / (H)	S	10th	housewife	11	6
044 / F / (L)	S	high school	housewife	16	4
045 / F / (L)	S	3rd	housewife	14	4
046 / M / (H)	S	10th	housewife	15	3
047 / M / (L)	S	6th	housewife	13	4
048 / F / (H)	S	high school/ cosmetology	housewife	25	2
049 / M / (L)	S	8th	housewife	17	2
050 / F / (H)	S	high school	housewife	6½	3
051 / F / (L)	I	no schooling/ elementary	restaurant kitchen/iron work	11	

TABLE 1 - continued

Demographic and Economic Characteristics

Code No./Gender/ Achievement	Single/ Intact	Educational Level	Occupation	Yrs. Lvg. in Mainland	No. of Children
052 / F / (H)	I	9th/high school graduate	housewife/ unemployed	12	4
053 / M / (L)	S	8th	housewife	15	4
054 / F / (H)	I	9th/5th	housewife/ labor	15	4
055 / F / (H)	S	9th	factory machine operator	17	2
056 / M / (L)	I	6th/8th	babysitter/ disabled	17	3
057 / F / (H)	S	5th	laborer factory	16	1
058 / M / (L)	I	11th/9th	custodian/ custodian	5	5
059 / M / (L)	I	5th-6th	housewife	12	6

Totals

N=59			years in mainland
males=31	hi achievers=29	single families=25	hi achievers=19
females=28	lo achievers=30	intact families=34	lo achievers=16

Table 2 - Language Spoken at Home

	Spanish	English	Both
Higher Achievers			
with child	12	2	15
by child	0	26	3
Lower Achievers			
with child	21	2	7
by child	0	27	3

Table 3 - Parental Educational Expectations and Child's Vocational Choice

	H/L	Rating	Choice
001	H	3	Teacher
002	H	5	Zoologist
003	L	3	Computers
004	H	6	Scientist
005	H	4	Don't know
006	H	4	computer Science
007	H	2	Social worker
008	H	3	Scientist
009	L	6	Pilot/baseball player
010	L	5	Cashier/pilot
011	L	3	Teacher
012	H	5	Model
013	L	4	Veterinarian
014	H	1	Chiropracter/architect
015	H	5	School teacher/doctor
016	H	6	Phys. Ed. teacher
017	H	2	Doctor/writer
018	H	3	Carpenter
019	L	5	Teacher
020	L	2	Engineer
021	H	6	Nurse/teacher
022	L	5	Computer/secretary
023	L	3	Marines/FBI
024	H	2	Doctor
025	L	1	Don't know
026	H	5	Architect

Table 3 - Parental Educational Expectations and Child's Vocational Choice - continued

	H/L	Rating	Choice
027	L	4	Teacher
028	L	5	Secretary/counselor
029	L	1	
030	L	4	Secretary
031	L	3	Teacher
032	H	3	Beautician
033	L	6	Teacher
034	L	4	No answer
035	H	2	Nurse
036	H	5	Doctor
037	L	3	Picking tomatoes
038	H	5	Carpenter
039	L	5	Architect
040	H	6	Football pro
041	L	3	No answer
042	L	1	Nurse
043	H	4	Policeman
044	L	4	Nurse
045	L	2	No answer
046	H	5	No answer
047	L	2	Office work
048	H	5	No answer
049	L	3	Doctor
050	H	5	No answer
051	L	4	Teacher/doctor
052	H	5	Teacher

Table 3 - Parental Educational Expectations and Child's Vocational Choice - continued

	H/L	Rating	Choice
053	L	1	No answer
054	H	4	Doctor
055	H	6	Nurse/teacher
056	L	1	Doctor
057	H	3	Teacher
058	L	3	Policeman
059	L	5	Doctor